

## European neutrality—the solution to

# THE GERMAN PROBLEM

By Tom Wardle

THE main objections to the rearmament of Germany are:

It would be an act of despair in the possibility of reaching a non-military solution of the European security problem.

It would confirm and intensify the hostility between Russia and the NATO powers.

It would lead inevitably not only to the remilitarisation of eastern Germany but to an increased military programme in eastern Europe and Russia.

It would make the reunification of Germany impossible and prevent any extension of contact between east and west.

It would accelerate the revival of Nazism by pandering to the military spirit and providing opportunities for ex-Nazi officers to exercise power again.

In any likely "defence community" arrangement, Germany would be the largest and most powerful European element. The danger of German military domination of Europe is not thereby overcome.

Britain cannot afford the additional expense of supporting another military scheme.

The long-term motive behind neo-Nazi planning is control of the heartland of Europe and domination of Africa. Once in a position of power Germany would be able to do a deal with Russia in order to achieve this.

Now while there is no doubt that the rearmament of Germany, by any of these arguments, would be a bad thing, there is no reason to suppose at this time that the present position regarding Germany can be maintained.

Western authorities realise that feeling against the Occupation in Germany is now running so high that the continued control of that country will be made almost impossible.

It would be a comparatively simple matter for politicians to exploit that feeling in favour of German re-unification on Soviet terms. The effect on the Atlantic alliance would be disastrous, the cold war in Europe would be as good as lost, for without German participation the western defence scheme is fooling.

### Unsupportable

With active German hostility involving continuing a costly and embarrassing Occupation, it would become unsupportable.

If Germany is therefore not to be rearmed by the Western powers, something will have to be done to see to it that she does not rearm herself, and moreover, that her people do not develop the kind of profound frustrations which could cause them to throw up another Nazi regime or conclude another Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact.

But those frustrations are already in existence, the Nazism has started to grow again, there are not a few signs of readiness to do a deal with Russia when the time is ripe. The existence of those frustrations is a major factor in the argument of those who plead for German rearmament; that they exist because Germany is excluded from the community of Europe, because she is humiliated by not being allowed equal status with the others.

Equal status can only be provided and national self-esteem satisfied, they argue, by restoring sovereignty to the country and permitting her to raise an army once again.

How then are these arguments to be countered by those who are opposed to German rearmament? If the neutralisation of Germany is to be accepted as an alternative policy it would necessitate maintaining large standing armies in readiness to occupy Germany again at the first sign of re-militarisation.

It could not prevent the growth of Nazism, but would certainly stimulate it. It would not be able to ensure that secret military preparations were not going on, a consideration which has new significance since the advent of atomic armaments.

And as such an arrangement would do nothing to reduce the threat from Russia, either with or without Russia's support for the neutralisation policy, there would appear to be little point in adopting it, since the objective of western policy for Germany is mainly that of defence against Russia.

The enforced neutralisation of Germany, then, by military means would in effect be no better than her deliberate rearmament, because the roots of the problem would not be touched.

What policy can provide the maximum security against renewed predatory German nationalism without increasing the danger of Russian expansionism either by direct military action or intrigue?

The answer lies in the neutralisation of Europe.

### More daring

The states of Europe who now realise that in the event of war they could expect total annihilation are prepared to be more daring in their policies than hitherto. Because they do not represent the principal power agents in the cold war they are also more flexible diplomatically than either Russia or America.

There is thus reason to suppose that they might be able to arrive at agreement for the progressive disengagement from all cold war operational alliances of all the territories involved, on a quid pro quo basis.

This would mean the withdrawal of all foreign troops, bases and stores from all Europe, from Iceland to the western border of the Soviet Union, including the satellite states of Eastern Europe, and an agreed measure of disarmament within each state.

In such a situation Germany would no longer feel herself a pariah. A new relationship between her and all the states of western and eastern Europe could develop. In the absence of armed threats, and recognising the common

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## H. W. FRANKLIN—back from the Far East—writes

# The Japanese don't want rearmament

H. W. FRANKLIN, former president of the National Union of Railwaymen was with the Labour Party goodwill mission to China. The trip included a short stay in Moscow and in Japan where Mr. Franklin was able to meet the leaders of the rapidly growing Japanese pacifist movement. The picture below shows the delegation in the Georgievsky Hall of the Kremlin. Mr. Franklin is fourth from the right. Mr. Bevan and Mr. Attlee are on the left.

HAVING been in Russia in 1951 and discussed pacifism in all its aspects with high Russian officials I am left in no doubt that even if there are Russian citizens who believe in the pacifist ideal they cannot be found.

When I discussed the issue upon the short visit in August of this year I came upon the same outlook.

"Yes," it was said, "pacifism is a great ideal, but so long as the West and America organise to attack us we cannot allow individuals to contract out of their obligations to their country."

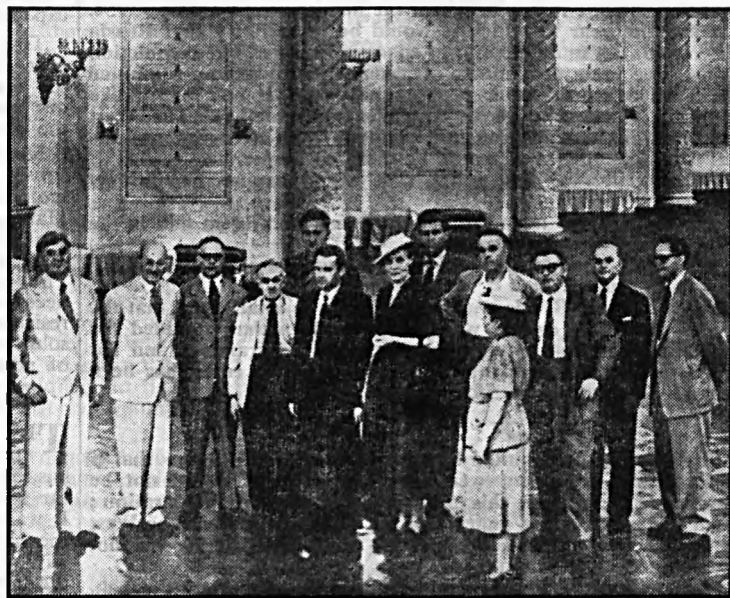
In China the same view prevails, and while the educated Chinese are at all times willing to enter into a discussion, it always comes back to much the same answer. "Where would we have been without the Communist Army? We should still have been under the domination of the imperialists."

To try to bring the discussion upon a higher plane courted certain failure, for having seen a certainly higher standard of life, and a government of Chinese people who jailed the land lords and, as they said "kicked out the oppressors of all nations" I found it impossible to get even one Chinese to start to admit that pacifism and disarmament would lead the world into a lasting peace.

"Ah," they would say, "that is all right if your country would disarm and get America to do the same thing, but who would stop the raids on our coasts if we disbanded our air force?"

It is almost impossible to believe that in the foreseeable future anyone in China will be able to advocate pacifism without danger to himself. Yet they joyfully quoted Peace News and gave prominence in their daily press to a Peace News article indicating that Formosa was a part of China.

After Lord Lindsay (the delegation's official interpreter) had translated the article and called my attention to it, I went out of my way to compliment the Chinese for allowing Peace News to be read, even if it was only by



high officials and the quotation was selective. In Japan there was an entirely different story.

Immediately upon my arrival I solicited information as to the possibility of meeting any pacifist groups, and, a meeting arranged, I spent three hours with a wonderful group of people.

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### THIRD CAMP

## European and world conferences planned

A EUROPEAN conference of organisations and individuals supporting the Third Camp is planned to take place in Leyden, Holland, in December this year.

Representatives of organisations, newspapers and private individuals will be invited from all parts of Europe. It is also expected that a delegation of Indonesians and Indians will attend. Some members of the American Third Camp movement will make the trip especially to be present.

The Socialist Party of Syria has offered to make the arrangements and bear the expense of a world Third Camp conference to be held in Damascus, Syria, in September, 1955. The Arab Socialist Bureau and the Asian Socialist Bureau are also warmly in support and will be canvassing their members to attend. The Asian Socialist Bureau is shortly to bring out two pamphlets on the Third Camp.

Attendance at the world conference will be open to members of all political parties and of none who subscribe to the Minimum Statement of the Third Camp.

Further details about conference credentials and arrangements may be obtained from the London office of the Third Camp, 12 High Street, London, N.W.3.

### British commissions

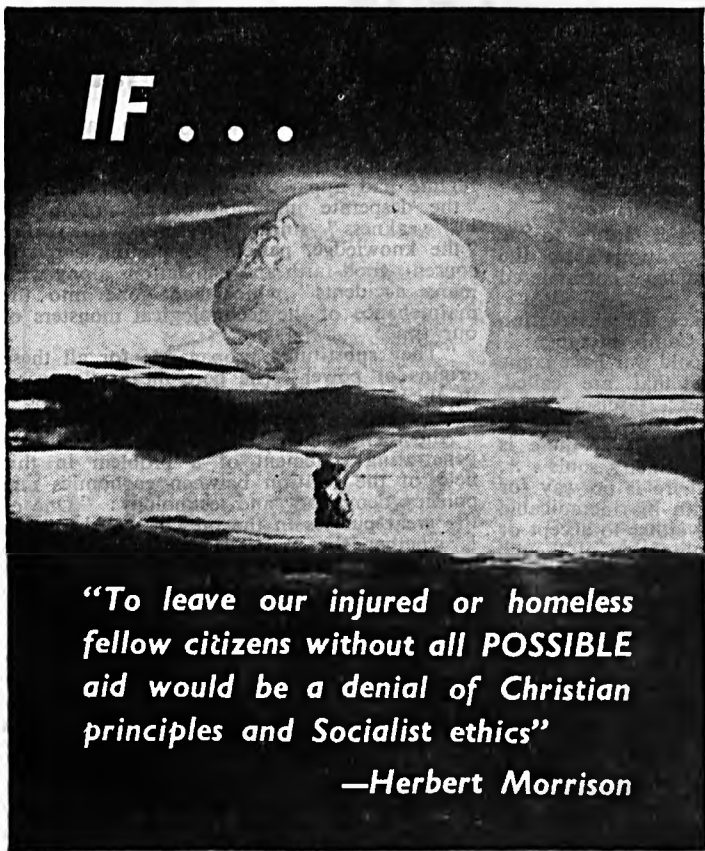
Four Commissions to consider aspects of Third Camp policy were set up at a London meeting of the British Third Camp movement last week. The Commissions will deal with:

1. Colonial liberation and the Third Camp. 2. The "Peace Area" nations and the Third Camp. 3. Economic policy. 4. The Third Camp view of political and economic democracy.

The four Commissions will report to a special conference of the British movement to be called just prior to the European conference (see above).

The meeting also considered asking prominent persons in Britain who subscribe to Third Camp principles, to endorse the Minimum Statement of the Third Camp as part of a world-wide campaign for notable sponsorship of the movement. Names of world sponsors will be printed together with the Statement and circulated throughout the world.

## MR. MORRISON FORGETS . . .



"To leave our injured or homeless fellow citizens without all POSSIBLE aid would be a denial of Christian principles and Socialist ethics"

—Herbert Morrison

IN World War I the statesman who is now the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, CH, MP, refused to fight—as did many of the readers of Peace News who are of his generation.

His refusal was on the grounds of conscience.

He held that it would be a violation of his sense of what was right if he were to stick a bayonet into a fellow human being or to kill him with a shot from a rifle.

In 1954 Mr. Morrison has to face this problem once more.

But this time there is a difference.

In war, as it is today, the bayonet and the rifle count for little. The weapons that the powers are piling up are the atom bomb, two of which in their earliest state of development have killed some 300,000 men, women and children in Japan—and the much more terrible hydrogen bomb, one of which can reduce the heart of a city to dust, vaporise all its living inhabitants, and spread destruction, death and—worse still—cruelly painful mutilation and half-death for many miles around.

It is in the face of this that Mr. Morrison makes the appeal to conscience reproduced in this Labour Press Service picture.

### Not the same as in 1916

Mr. Morrison's conscience is not moved in the same way as it was in 1916 however. He does not say:

"To visit cruel death and destruction on hundreds of thousands of our fellow beings, and to leave hundreds of thousands of others injured and homeless would be a denial of Christian principles and Socialist ethics."

Mr. Morrison would not regard an action of this kind as such a denial, so what he says is:

"To leave our injured or homeless fellow citizens without all possible aid would be a denial of Christian principles and Socialist ethics."

Mr. Morrison is writing about Civil Defence, and his article in the Labour Press Service is directed against those who, like the Coventry members of Mr. Morrison's Party, take the view that it is not possible to provide effective civil defence against the kind of warfare that the powers—this country along with others—are contemplating. Mr. Morrison says these critics are guilty of "treachery to our people,

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## PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4  
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

September 24, 1954

### TIME FOR RE-APPRAISAL

**T**ODAY re-appraisal is the watchword.

It is surely time that the Labour Party should enter upon a reappraisal of its policy—not a review to examine what is the minimum adjustment that can be made to the EDC idea to induce France to accept an armed Germany; but to see whether previous policy has not been founded on a number of wrong assumptions and whether or not a radical restatement of policy is needed.

A Government representative of the extreme wing of American capitalist opinion is a curious ally for the British Labour Party, however it may be for a Churchill Conservative Government. We can understand and agree with Labour's dislike and distrust of Russian Communism. We can even accept that if it is compelled to choose between American capitalism and Russian Communism Labour will prefer the former. Nevertheless in the field of foreign relationships things have changed considerably since Labour made that choice: where it might seem that of two evils Taft-Republican-capitalism is to be preferred to Stalinism, it is not so obvious that Knowland-Republican-capitalism is to be preferred to Malenkovism.

The Labour Party does not have to make any such choice however. The time has come for it to formulate an independent policy, a policy that is more consistent with Labour's traditional aims.

When Mr. Attlee propounded his policy for armaments expansion in 1951 it was held that the danger year would be 1954. This was the year in which it would be most likely that Russia would reach out in an attempt to conquer Europe. The completion of this three years programme of armaments expansion, combined with America's great arms programme would, it was held, make possible a slackening off in armaments production. The West would then be in a position to "negotiate from strength" and the need for expanding arms would be there no longer.

What critics of this policy said would happen has in fact happened.

Russia has also added to her arms and there is no talk in the West of any considerable reduction.

Ironically enough, the reduction in the rate of expansion has come from Russia.

The idea that Russia was getting ready to attack, and that the year of maximum danger was 1954; the idea that provided the foundation for these enormous armaments programmes and for the network of alliances into which we began to enter, has been refuted by the passage of time.



This newspaper pointed out the obvious logical flaw: that if the Russian Government were bent on attack it would not be stupid enough to await this peak point of Western preparation; indeed the fact that the attack had not taken place when the West was at its weakest was presumptive evidence that it was not contemplated as it was alleged.

The year of maximum danger is now three-quarters through, and so far from tension becoming more acute as the year has progressed there has been less fear of the type of Russian aggression that was contemplated and the year has actually been one of détente.

President Eisenhower has not only repudiated the idea that Russia would be likely to attack in 1954. He has said that he "did not admit that anyone could predict when, if ever, another Government would want to launch into a global war."

Mr. George Keenan, who cannot be regarded as a Communist or a fellow-traveller as he had to be recalled from his post of ambassador on the demand of the Russian Government because of his criticisms of the regime, has supplemented this view in his recent book. The Russian Communists are not ogres, he says, but misguided and tortured beings; but he has never observed in the Soviet Government tendencies to suicide and he does not suspect them of having the least desire simply to destroy.

This fundamental conception of what the Russian arms were for, therefore, upon which our policies have been built, was false. This is not to say that the Russians have a pacifist government any more than the British. They want their arms because they are pursuing power politics, just as are all the governments of the West. The Russians brought fear to the rest of the world when their power politics produced the 1948 coup d'état in Czechoslovakia. Since that date, however, many more aggressive moves and a great deal more sabre-rattling have come from America than have come from Russia.

For British Labour it is time for a re-appraisal. Such a re-appraisal should lead to the formulation of a policy that is just as independent of American capitalism as it is of Russian Communism; and if Labour is ever again to have the opportunity to think once more in the terms of its old ideals it must be a re-appraisal that will take it out of power politics altogether.

The choice now is between power politics, with the certainty of a destroyed civilisation, and their repudiation with a chance of survival. The Labour Party has reached a position where its traditional ideals and current realities are inseparably bound together.

## GRAVE ISSUES AT SCARBOROUGH

By Stuart Morris

**T**HE Labour Party Conference will be meeting within a period which is specially critical for world peace, and many of the motions on the Agenda reflect grave concern about the policy which Britain is following.

Though the motions must be debated separately, they are linked together and none should be discussed in isolation from the whole problem of East-West relations and the revolutionary situation into which the world has moved.

That there should be no motion on the vital question of aid to under-developed countries does not argue any lack of concern for those who daily face the evils of poverty, bad housing and lack of education.

It is partly due to the fact that a policy statement has recently been published, but the Conference would do well to bear in mind that if, because of an obsession with Communism, the solution of these problems is delayed, a far more dangerous situation will develop.

The very desire to prevent the spread of Communism in Asia and Africa should lead to the recognition that this can be achieved not through threats of violence but only by a policy bold enough to provide more for the under-developed countries than Communism is capable of doing.

That in its turn demands a completely new distribution of our resources and the diversion from war preparation of our money, our skill and our energy to the War on Want.

None of the vital problems can be solved in the spirit which relies on violence. Whether it is in Kenya, Malaya, S.E. Asia or Europe, violence can only embitter relations and finally destroy all hope of peace and security. The principle of non-violence and, if necessary, the practice of non-violent resistance alone hold out any hope of a solution of the problems and of a world of peace and prosperity.

### German rearmament

**T**HE Trades Union Congress vote at Brighton on German rearmament has by no means settled the matter so far as the Labour Party are concerned. It was another example of the power of the bloc vote which is all too often cast without any serious attempt to ascertain the views of members.

The curse of the Trades Unions—and we use the word advisedly—is the creation of what amounts to a new type of civil servant, complete with bowler hat, umbrella and attache case, in the person of officials who seldom, if ever, visit their branches and are out of touch with the membership.

Many officials, though not averse to titles and honours, seem to have forgotten the very elements of socialism and the fundamental interests not only of those whose servants they are, but of democracy itself.

Nowhere is this more true than in the case of German rearmament.

But there will be important differences in the composition of the votes at Scarborough. With all bloc votes reduced from the total membership of unions to the actual number of those who pay the political levy, but with the difference proportionately less in the case of the unions opposed to German rearmament, the votes of the Unions may well show a different result. In the constituency parties the views of members are generally obtained and these may hold the balance. The vote at the Labour Party Conference will therefore be influenced by the views of politically conscious socialists.

### No manoeuvres, please

**T**HE exponents of the so-called "official policy" (though it has never been endorsed by the Labour

Party Conference, and many hold that the conditions previously accepted have not been fulfilled) will no doubt do all that they can by argument and otherwise to secure a favourable vote.

The weakness of their case as presented in the official pamphlet has already been exposed in Peace News, but lacking effective argument or an alternative policy, the executive may be expected to play up the fear of Communism as Deakin and Tewson did at Brighton.

But there is another danger, pointed out by the Political Correspondent of the Sunday Express (our italics): "Can the party leaders and the national executive avoid defeat by some adroit last-minute manoeuvre?"

Some of the tactics adopted at the TUC were open to serious criticism and were not those to which the chairman of a democratic gathering should have resorted. If the platform at Scarborough now try to thwart the honest expression of the views which members hold on so vital an issue they will do untold harm to the whole movement.

Nor must there be any attempt to burke the issue or postpone a decision because the results of the eight or nine power conference will not be known. Indeed it is all the more necessary for the socialist movement in this country to express its mind whatever Mr. Eden may have in his.

Let the rank and file speak freely.

We shall then see the beginning of a fundamental change in the Labour Party. It will once more reflect the principles of socialism, and provide a real alternative to put before the electorate.

### The alternative to EDC

**F**OR there is an alternative.

From one point of view the French rejection of EDC has increased the dangers, if the alternative is to be the incorporation of W. Germany into NATO with the restoration of full sovereignty and the implicit right to a national army without permanent and adequate safeguards.

We hope that Belgium, the Netherlands and France will alike realise the danger, use the right of veto possessed by each signatory and refuse to be stamped into admitting Germany to NATO.

The hurried journey of Mr. Dulles in which he could only make time to see Dr. Adenauer and not M. Mendes-France emphasises the fact that he has preferred to curry favour with the German Chancellor rather than meet the legitimate concern of the French Prime Minister.

The result of the recent elections in Schleswig-Holstein, coupled with the previous results in Rhine-Westphalia, represent a serious setback for Dr. Adenauer and his policy of putting German rearmament before German unity.

Mr. Dulles may well be concerned lest one reaction to the refusal of France to ratify EDC will be a fresh challenge to a German Chancellor whose influence is on the wane.

His visit gives point to the belief of some that America is prepared for unilateral action in regard to Germany and may well hold out as a threat the possibility of an American-German alliance.

So far as British policy goes the only indication which has come from the visits of the Foreign Secretary is that, refusing to take to heart the real significance of the French rejection of EDC and the widespread opposition to German rearmament there, here and in Germany, he is using all his tact and skill to sell the fundamental policy of EDC under some other name.

But France requires something more than a face-saver. What is necessary is the reappraisal of policy which Foster Dulles recognised would be necessary, and not an attempt to patch up the old plan or present it in some new guise.

This is where the Labour Party could play an important and effective part by an alternative policy pressing for the resumption of the Berlin talks.

Even if there is a conference of nine powers they cannot speak for Europe nor provide European security by themselves.

It is European security which must be our aim, for to think merely in terms of Western security is to divide Europe and make security impossible.

The Soviet Union must be a partner and in spite of the Western reply to Russia's proposals we hope that opinion at Scarborough and elsewhere here, as in France, will be strong enough to insist on a meeting of all the governments concerned with a peaceful solution of the German problem.

### Resume the Berlin Conference

**T**HE text of the official reply to the Russian proposals makes sorry reading.

In effect it says that the West will come to a conference only if Russia will concede in advance the very points which the conference is designed to rediscuss and which were unresolved at the previous meeting in Berlin.

In assessing that meeting we said that the cause of the deadlock was the West's unwillingness to think in any other terms than its own defence. Hence the refusal to discuss any plan but its own or to make any concessions in the policy which involves the incorporation of W. Germany, and if possible of a united Germany, into the Western system of defence.

True the Western powers did recognise that an all-German government must have the right to decide its own policy, but it was admitted that they were running very little risk, in view of the fact that there could only be a small minority of Communists in any all-German government, that they had Adenauer as a staunch ally and could rely on the effect of the propaganda of the past five years, and bribes of threats about the future to ensure the result they desired.

That is not to say that such a decision would represent the real wishes of the majority of Germans or be in the best interests of European peace, and it must not be forgotten that the West rejected any suggestion of a referendum on the subject of German rearmament.

### Second line

If the West is so loth to lose control of W. Germany how should any realist expect the Soviet Union not only to face the loss of control of East Germany, but its incorporation into the Western defence plan? That is what the Western reply virtually demands. The Soviet Union has not made any bid to bring E. Germany permanently into the Soviet bloc, let alone incorporate a united Germany.

The solution Russia proposes is that the reunited Germany should be independent of either power bloc.

If the West would accept that as equitable and reasonable, the difficulty about elections would soon vanish since both are agreed on the principle of free elections. The difference about method has largely been a kind of second line struggle as part of the major conflict over the question of the relations between a united Germany and the other powers.

## Re-thinking in America

**T**HIS is the week when millions of American children are ending their vacations and entering what on this side we call the public schools. Though it is not the main theme of my letter and I have nothing fresh or weighty to say about it, I cannot avoid remarking that for thousands upon thousands of the children this year's school opening is marked by the abandonment of the racial segregation pattern.

This includes the national capital, Washington, D.C., where the Inter-racial Workshops held each summer for a decade or so, under the joint auspices of FoR and the Congress of Racial Equality, made a definite contribution towards this happy result.



I turn now to quite another matter. While it is fresh in my mind, I want to share with Peace News readers a few of the insights of a book to which I have just given a first reading, which will certainly not be the last. I am inclined to think that *ESSAY IN POLITICS* by Scott Buchanan, published a few months ago by The Philosophical Library, New York, may come to be recognised as a major contribution to political thought.

It contains a number of observations of special interest to pacifists and Gandhians and which indicate that the author may essentially hold the Third Camp position, which is the more significant perhaps because he has not been identified publicly at least, with pacifist activity.

Without having had a chance to organise my thinking about the book as a whole, I call attention here to some of the observations of the author.

Dr. Buchanan's main concern is with the state of war which has become chronic, especially in the West, but he is not thinking primarily, much less exclusively, in terms of the obvious power conflict between the Russian and the American power-State.

He is also concerned about the relation between political life and organisation and economic life and organisation and the connection—or frequently lack of intelligent connection between them. And he looks at these matters in the context of modern technology.

Using, for reasons of his own, the term "commercial republic" to designate the field of economic life, he describes the conflicts among owners, managers, workers, and the state of the "political republic."

He writes: "In a deep Hobbesian sense there is a continuous state of war in the permanent disposition to fight, although the truce between belligerents is only occasionally broken by outright battles." He points out that "the political republic is alternately invited and forced to step into the conflict" between employers and unions, "but each time it does so, no matter on which side, it loses prestige, power, and worst of all, the confidence of the citizenry." The common good is chiselled away and the state has the choice of accepting a tyrannical role or withering away. As the state withers, and the state

of war continues, the political arts, "the process of decision-making by the citizens and workers, dwindle and disappear. Gradually and imperceptibly it is becoming true of all citizens that all they understand is force."

This last sentence, in italics, seems to me one of the profoundest observations about the malady of our time which I have encountered in a long time.

Then Dr. Buchanan makes the observation which sounds like a Third Camp utterance:

"Out of this century-old cold war have come those mockeries of ideas that are called, fittingly enough, ideologies; fascism, communism, and 'democracy'... We are told we must choose between them; that there is a battle on in the world for men's souls... But the plain fact is that there is no way for an honest human being with his ineradicable powers of intellect and will either to accept or reject any one or any combination of them."

In an article in *The Progressive* shortly after the death of Stalin I ventured the suggestion that a "collective leadership" might actually be developing in the Soviet Union, but that this would not necessarily mean a turn toward democracy, but rather that the structure and leadership might resemble that of the vast corporations characteristic of the contemporary American "free-enterprise" system.

I was, therefore, pleased to have Dr. Buchanan broach the same idea, which he had, of course, arrived at quite independently, and which he has worked out in a much more

systematic and profound way than had occurred to me. In this connection Dr. Buchanan observes that the vast power which the Nazi regime had apparently amassed was actually "the desperate imitation of genuine power by weakness" since they failed to realise "the knowledge, patient persuasion, common consent, good faith and convictions along with many accidents" which had gone into the maintenance of the technological monsters of our time.

"They substituted propaganda for all these origins of power"—he here means "power" in the essentially human and social sense—"and raced the means of power to their ruin."

And then he gives another characteristically penetrating statement of a problem in this field of the relation between economics and politics, democracy and technology: "One of the great puzzles in the present world enigma is whether the Russians are caught in the managerial illusion, the engineer's dream that he alone at the throttle of a great machine is power."



My last reference is to the fact that Buchanan makes a number of references to Gandhi and regards the Praja Socialist Party of India as one of the political instruments which may contribute to the shaping of a new world.

They, he writes, "decided to continue the principles and spirit of Gandhi's leadership by establishing themselves as the opposition party."

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### Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste



## Michael Scott for United Nations

**MICHAEL SCOTT**, representative of the Herero people, champion of Africans, left Britain last week hoping to be able to make his fifth appearance before the United Nations to plead the cause of his friends.

For eight years UN has discussed three questions relating to South Africa: (1) The treatment of Indians there. (2) The general racial situation. (3) The future of the mandated territory of South-West Africa.

### No action

So far nothing has happened except talk, resolutions, reports and an important "advisory opinion" from the International Court of Justice on the South-West Africa question. This opinion stated that South Africa had obligations to UN in respect of S.W. Africa—to ensure the progress of the people in all departments of life, to provide just administration in the spirit of trusteeship, and to report to UN on how these obligations were being fulfilled.

This South Africa has refused to do, and is in effect defying the United Nations.

In a special appeal to the UN, Michael Scott has asked, on behalf of the Africa Bureau of which he is Director, that further steps be now taken to see that South Africa abides by United Nations' decisions. The Bureau urges the "compulsory jurisdiction" of the International Court. This would mean, if obtained, that UN would be in a position to expel South Africa from the UN and to apply sanctions against her such as an embargo on her imports of oil "which could have serious political consequences for the Government in power."

But before things went as far as that, other means should be employed—loans from the International Bank to finance African development schemes in the Reserves, offers of help from the World Health Organisation in the task of overcoming disease among the non-white population, assistance from the Food and Agriculture Organisation with the problem of soil erosion.

Such offers, Michael Scott believes, would not be spurned, and could lead to an improvement in relations between South Africa and the rest of the world.

If something is not done soon, he considers, then "South Africa may become for the United Nations what Abyssinia was for the League."

As an immediate practical contribution to the improvement of the position in South Africa, the organising of multi-racial work camps would be invaluable, Mr. Scott said. They could carry out relief work and do a job of reconciliation between white and black at the same time. Young white people from Europe who were prepared to go to such camps in South Africa would help to get the scheme going.

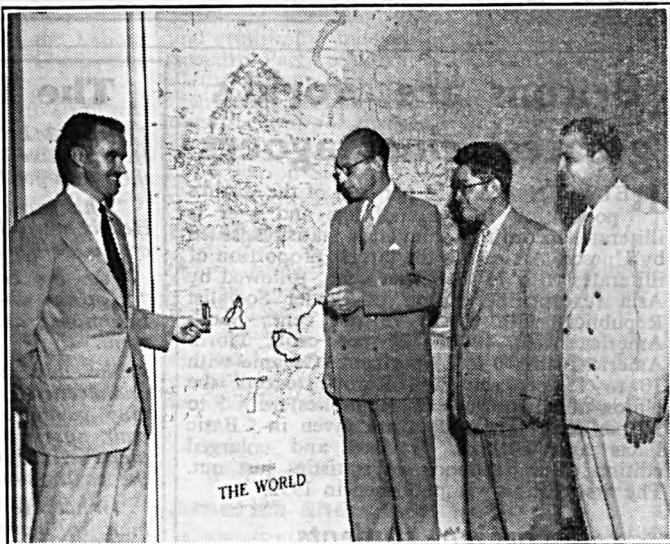
Would the Government allow it?  
"There is no reason not to believe so before it has been tried."

## German Quakers' appeal

**THE** Yearly Meeting of Quakers from both Eastern and Western Germany addressed an urgent appeal to the governments, parliaments, and Church leaders of all Germany to save their own people from destruction and preserve the peace of the world by implementing the following three proposals for the peaceful solution of the German problem:—

- (1) Germany to take the risk of remaining unarmed and thus "declare peace on the world."
- (2) Germany to refuse to enter into any treaties or alliances which would involve military, political or economic participation in war.
- (3) Germany voluntarily to offer the means saved by continued disarmament for aid to underdeveloped countries and the war on want.

The West German Women's Peace Movement has sent a letter to Nehru's sister, Mrs. Lakshmi Nehru, asking her to take the initiative in calling a world conference of women in Switzerland or some other neutral country, which might give voice to the fears and anxieties of women at the threat of war and appeal to governments everywhere to seek peaceful solutions to the issues which divide them.



This picture shows the members of a United Nations Trusteeship Council Mission which toured Trust Territories in West Africa. The territory of South-West Africa, outlined on the map, bottom left was mandated to South Africa under the League of Nations. The International Court has ruled that South Africa has obligations to the United Nations in respect of her mandate, but she refuses to recognise them. —Unations

## International development urged at ILCOP conference

**MORE** than half of the living accommodation destroyed in Dortmund, Germany during the war remains unrestored. Dr. Sigmund Schultze, veteran German pacifist told the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace at their recent conference at Calw.

The re-armament of Germany would seriously impair the progress of rehousing.

The conference was shocked by the account of the injuries to the Japanese fishermen affected by radiation after the H-bomb test in the Pacific.

Prof. Nishiwaki, Professor of Atomic Science at Osaka, Japan, who addressed the conference said that he had met the ill-fated trawler "Fukuryu Maru" on its return to harbour.

His report followed closely that given in Peace News on August 13.

### Conclusions

After hearing other speakers who included Abbé Pierre, the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, MP; and the Rev. Michael Scott, the conference endorsed the following conclusions to be published by the ILCOP Secretariat, Paradiesstrasse 14, Riehen, Switzerland:

1. That a major factor in the building of a peaceful world would be the creation of an international development authority with sufficient power and capital to meet the enormous human needs of the poorer countries of the world.
2. That the time has come for drastic disarmament in as much as the new weapons of war are so destructive that neither side could survive their use and that the resources so released should be devoted to the implementation of the work of the international development authority.
3. That the continued suffering caused by the atomic bombs dropped in 1945 and the injuries to Japanese fishermen resulting from the H-bomb tests in 1954 are indicative of the appalling and incalculable effects of atomic weapons and that therefore all further tests should cease and agreement should be urgently sought to abolish them and similar weapons.
4. That a new Four-Power Conference on Germany should be held, to which representatives of East and West Germany should be invited, in order to bring about unification on the basis of free elections. As a first step to general disarmament, Germany should not be rearmed, but her security should be guaranteed by the other four powers.

## "You can't register as a CO"

### CONSCRIPT MISINFORMED

By Hugh Brock

**"THIS** is a strange case," said Denis Hayes, solicitor representing Horace Andrews at the Advisory Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors in London last week.

It was. And it was a grave indictment of all who fail to give publicity in our schools, youth clubs, factories and churches to the rights of conscientious objectors.

The "strange case" brought not only Denis Hayes and Gunner Andrews—as the War Office know him—before the Tribunal, but also the founder of an East End Youth Club, Mr. K. B. Nunn, Lieut. J. A. Gill and an escort of soldiers. Gunner Andrews had come from a detention room in a Carlisle camp.

In 1947, at 16 years of age, Andrews had told his vicar in the East End of London that he thought of registering as a conscientious objector. The vicar, an ex-RAF chaplain, was not very sympathetic or helpful.

Registration day came, and the 17-year-old, nursing his grim determination to be a CO but unaware of any sympathetic person with whom he could share his views, asked at the Labour Exchange to be registered as a CO. "You can't register as a CO until you're 21," the clerk misinformed him.

Young Andrews was shaken. He went back to consult his vicar. There was no help there. He was worried about the effect all this would have on his mother, in bad health and very much dependent on her son.

He decided to soldier.

### In the Army

"I shall call Lieut. Gill to testify to Horace Andrews' conduct in the Army," Denis Hayes told the Chairman of the Tribunal, Sir Michael McDonnell, who had sat up sharply on hearing how the Labour Exchange had dealt with Andrews.

Gunner Andrews had been highly thought of by the personnel selection officer. He was conscientious in his work and had all the makings of a good soldier, but he was always discussing the pacifist viewpoint with his fellow conscripts.

After serving some months he became more and more distressed at his position. Anxiety about his mother increased. She had become more seriously ill. He went absent without leave.

After having been punished four times for being AWOL Andrews decided to go home for good.

And then another strange thing in this strange case.

From March, 1949, to mid-1954 he lived quite openly at his home in Bethnal Green.

At this stage Mr. K. B. Nunn, also a solicitor, took up the story.

### In the Youth Club

In 1943, Kenneth Nunn, a CO with the Friends' Ambulance Unit, established a youth club in the East End. The future Gunner Andrews enrolled at 13, and became a promising member. He kept up his association with the club while he was in the Army. And after he had walked out of it.

He was keen on the club. When he took over the 11-15 year old section it became a tremendous success. The club came top of their league.

"When, in 1953, the senior club leader left," said Mr. Nunn, "it was a natural selection to ask Horace Andrews to take over. We had a wonderfully successful year, with the biggest entry in the local handicrafts exhibition."

"Horace Andrews was considered a first-class club leader."

The military law took its course. The Service Investigation Bureau collected Gunner Andrews and he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment (reduced on confirmation to nine months).

The tribunal was critical of Andrews' opposition to military law and refused to recommend the War Office to discharge him.

The Lieutenant gave a nod to the military escort to come forward from the back of the room. And Gunner Andrews went back to prison.

## Youth correspondence with eastern Europe

**PEACE NEWS**, with the co-operation of the Pacifist Youth Action Group, has made an arrangement with the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Budapest for the establishing of pen friendships with Soviet and East European youth.

The suggested scheme serves the purpose of promoting mutual understanding and of creating friendship in the interest of peace. Any subject can be chosen for discussion in the direct exchange of letters and there is, of course, no censorship.

The following details should be given in enquiries:

1. Country in which a pen friend is desired,
2. Name and address,
3. Subjects of interest, hobbies, activities,
4. Whether magazines, papers, photos, etc. are offered for exchange,
5. Language(s) suggested.

Offers of correspondence or enquiries may be sent either to the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), Budapest, VI, Benczur u. 34, Hungary (no stamp is needed for reply), or to Ian Dixon, Pacifist Youth Action Group, 71 Prince's Gate, London, S.W.7, stamped addressed envelope required.

## "TO LABOUR . . . AND NOT TO ASK FOR ANY REWARD."

**SO** go the words of one of the most humble and magnificent prayers in the English language. Its conception of man as worker, striver, servant in a cause greater than himself is in the tradition of true nobility, true human greatness.



It was the kind of vision which the early Socialists had. Men like Owen, Blake, Morris, Kingsley, Hardie, Maxton saw a future where the ways of the City of God had become the ways of the City of Man.

Even its most fervent apologist could hardly deny that the Labour movement of today has not only failed to realise that vision, it has failed to maintain it. Talk of arms, power, authority, discipline, colonial rule, mass methods, accords ill with the warm humanity and religious conviction of the pioneers.

But as with the Church, the Labour movement has not completely abandoned its fundamental values. There are still those in its ranks who long for a return to the sincerity and shining purpose of its earlier days. Among them are the Labour pacifists. They are active the year round working to help their party recover its former principles. Their best help in this task, they say, comes from Peace News. Once again this year, Labour pacifists will staff a stall at their Party Conference and Peace News will be on prominent display.

This is just another of the hundreds of useful jobs Peace News, and its friends, can do. But to keep on doing them it needs help, practical help, in terms of £ s. d.

**TOM WARDLE.**

Contributions since September 10: £46 15s. 5d. Total since January 1, 1954: £1,175 13s. 4d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully received: Edmonton, Alberta, £5; Leicester, £1.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.A.

## New Zealand Methodist Synod calls for ban on war

**A CALL** to all New Zealand Methodists to refuse ever again to support war, under any circumstances, has been made in a resolution sent to the New Zealand Methodist Conference, which meets in November.

The resolution, passed earlier this month by the Nelson-Marlborough-West Coast Synod, is the strongest ever passed by a Methodist Synod in New Zealand. It reads:

- (1) Recalling: (a) That past Conferences have declared that War is incompatible with the spirit of religion and inconsistent with the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ;
- (b) That in the same year the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State also stated: "The universal Church . . . must pronounce a condemnation of war unqualified and unrestricted. War can only occur as the fruit and manifestation of sin;" and
- (c) That the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam unanimously received and commended to all Churches a report which contained this declaration: "We are one in proclaiming to all mankind: war is contrary to the Will of God" and went on to say that the part that war plays in modern life is a sin against God:

This Synod recommends to Conference that it calls on all Christians, and in particular all Methodists, to repudiate once and for all and refuse ever again to sanction or support that which is contrary to the teaching of Christ, contrary to the Will of God, and a sin against God, namely, war, under any circumstances and for any purposes; and at the same time Conference calls on all Christians and in particular all Methodists to dedicate their lives to the love and service of God and all His children without distinction, earnestly seeking and pursuing ways of fulfilling such love and service in all individual, social, national and international life.

(2) That this Synod recommends that the foregoing resolution be forwarded to the National Council of Churches and to the Government, and that Conference call the attention of the Government to the fact that war besides being un-Christian is no defence and the use of modern scientific weapons of war will lead to pointless suffering if not final calamity; that Conference further urges upon the Government a full recognition of the Christian principle of the love of our neighbours and asks the Government to implement such recognition by a policy based on application of Christian principles to all aspects of our national life.

The resolution was sponsored by the Motueka Circuit of the Methodist Church, in which the Riverside Pacifist Community is prominent, and was proposed by A. C. Barrington, Secretary of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society.

Among those supporting the resolution at the Synod were the Rev. E. Baker, a World War II ex-serviceman and Mr. Ray Marshall, president of the Nelson Labour Representation Committee and formerly Labour Party candidate for the Nelson Constituency.



A. C. BARRINGTON

### BRISTOL

3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Broadweir.  
Western Area Peace Pledge Union Annual Rally.  
Hugh Brock. PPU National Chairman.  
Sale of produce by auction afterwards in aid of funds.  
Saturday, Oct. 2 Tea at 5 p.m.

## Self-Government for Wales

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4s. 6d. a year.  
"Plaid Cymru and its Message,"  
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"Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism," 7s. 6d.; postage 6d.  
"What is Welsh Nationalism?"  
by H. W. J. Edwards, 7d.

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ETHEL MANNIN reviews

# "THE WOMEN BEHIND MAHATMA GANDHI"

THIS book, "Women Behind Mahatma Gandhi," by Eleanor Morton (Max Reinhardt, London, 18s.), an American Quaker, is best described as a life of Gandhi with special reference to his women friends, including his wife.

The title is misleading, suggesting the power-behind-the-throne, and no woman was that in Gandhi's life, nor any man either.

It is curious that though the author tells us that Gandhi "detested" the title of Mahatma she herself uses it and features it in the title of the book.

It is also curious to find Lady Mountbatten as one of the women "behind" Gandhi, but in the six pages of the chapter titled with her name she is given, actually, only a paragraph of some ten lines, describing, briefly, her visit to him on his seventy-eighth birthday.

She then gets a line of mention, as attending his funeral, in the last chapter titled with the name of Sarojini Naidu—which is incidentally the fourth chapter bearing the name of this celebrity and the sixth in which it occurs.

The book is altogether curiously contrived. It is difficult to see the point in raking up again the affair of Edward VIII and Mrs. Simpson—complete with excerpts from Time magazine—in a chapter devoted to Miss Slade's visit to England, but two pages out of the six are devoted to a discussion of British royalty, and a very woman's-magazine gossip, chit-chat, two pages they are.

## Taken with royalty

But the author seems altogether taken with British royalty, for a few pages further on we are treated to another bit of chit-chat—"the wedding in November of the pretty young princess had the aura of a fairytale, including even a handsome prince as the groom," etc.

Having read only two other books about Gandhi, Vincent Sheehan's *Lead Kindly Light*, and Reginald Reynolds's *To Live in Mankind* which Eleanor Morton does not list in her bibliography—I am not able to judge whether this book adds anything to the already existing Gandhi lore.

There are a good many quotations in this book, though their source is never given; some of the material concerning Gandhi's youth and marriage would seem to have been taken from his own autobiography though, oddly, this book is not listed among her "books that have been of great interest."

What this book does yield, rightly or wrongly, is the impression that Mrs. Gandhi was very much to be pitied, and that Miss Slade was as neurotic as they come.

Mrs. Gandhi, it would seem, was always being dictated to, and Miss Slade always collapsing and having nervous breakdowns. Eleanor Morton does not intend it, for it is clear that she admires "the Mahatma," but nevertheless the picture she presents of him in relation to the women who served him and adored him—so tediously—was that of a tiresome young man and a preposterous old one.

The picture of Mrs. Gandhi is of a brave but crushed, rebellious but pathetic, little woman. Perhaps it is a true picture; perhaps not. Eleanor Morton herself quotes Gandhi as saying he was sometimes afraid of "Ba," but the picture she gives of the mother of Gandhi's sons is one of forlorn pathos, and a tearful submission—whether it is emptying chamber-pots for a guest in accordance with her husband's no-servants ruling, parting with her family jewellery, or giving back the gift of a necklace presented as a farewell gift when they were leaving South Africa.

## Woman's-page style

Olive Schreiner is cited as one of the women "behind" Gandhi—that is to say she admired him, and they were friends in South Africa.

We are told that her personal life, in its simplicity, was an inspiration to the young Gandhi. But that in the Zulu war they were on different sides, Olive Schreiner being pro-Zulu as she had been pro-Boer. With as much reason that over-rated woman Mrs. Annie Besant, might have been included in the gallery.

Gandhi met her in London at the funeral of Charles Bradlaugh, when she was "in her early forties, but still in the flower of her beauty." We are told that she changed for young Gandhi "his whole concept of her sex," and that when he "was to live in South Africa later, there would be hung on his office wall the portrait of Annie Besant."

Muriel Lester shares a chapter, one only, with Madeleine Slade. She gets only a few lines, describing her first meeting with Gandhi, in this chapter, but she gets another mention in one of the Sarojini Naidu chapters, describing how she once contradicted the great man flat and thereby delighted him.

There are a few other passing references to her, but as a woman "behind" Gandhi it is clear that she cannot compete with Miraben or Sarojini Naidu. But "of them all, Mirdulla Sarabhai and Sushila Nayyar saw Gandhi with clearest, perhaps with sometimes critical eyes." Sushila gets a chapter all to herself, but not Sarabhai.

It is interesting to read that Sarojini Naidu, like Annie Besant, was pro the British Empire during the 1914-18 war, whilst Olive Schreiner remained an unflinching pacifist.

I have read this book with a reluctant interest—reluctant because of its untidy construction of the book, but with interest because the material concerning Mrs. Gandhi is new to me.

Whether the book can be of similar interest to readers who know Sushila Nayyar's book, *Wife of Gandhi*, or Gandhi's autobiography, I have no means of knowing, not having read either myself. Eleanor Morton tells us that she met many of Gandhi's friends and co-workers as well as many of his adversaries, both Indian and British.

She met Madeleine Slade, Sushila Nayyar, Sarojini Naidu. She met Muriel Lester, and heard her speak a number of times. But she did not meet Gandhi, or his wife.

The book will appeal to those who like the "feminine angle" on Gandhi, "the women in Gandhi's life"; those like myself who find this angle irrelevant will be put off by its very title, or, if curiosity enables them to overcome that prejudice, by the feminine intimacy of the author's style and treatment of her subject.

## Not recommended for escapists

"The Seraph scanned the murderer in the dock—

The motionless Judge, beneath the courtroom clock,

The listening jury, warders, counsel, Clerk; Ay, one and all who shared that deepening dark:

And then, as I shunned to see, He turned his burning eyes and looked at me."

Walter de la Mare.

BECAUSE R. H. Wood the author of "THE LEAP IN THE DARK" (Gollancz 12s. 6d.) is my friend, it may be thought that my opinion of his work must necessarily be biased in his favour.

It is certainly difficult to be objective where a friend is concerned, but on the whole, I believe that most people tend to be more strictly critical of a friend or relation, rather than less.

Be that as it may, I have to admit that, while endeavouring to be sternly critical and objective, I found myself completely carried away by this finely written, intensely dramatic allegory. For that, in fact, is what it is, though it is written in novel form, and has all the tension and sustained interest that marks a really good narrative.

The quotation I have used is on the dust-jacket, but inside there is no dedication. This is, undoubtedly because the book is dedicated to you, and to me, as well as to the writer himself. It is about you and me, for it concerns the human spirit with all its good, and all its guilt.

I do not recommend it to those who read only in order to escape from thinking, for here the reader is forced to look at himself, and into himself, and to think a very great deal.

The "I" of the tale, meets the "shadow who lives on the other side of yourself inseparably"—his other self—and accepts the necessity to look back upon himself and his actions, embraces the knowledge of himself, and by that leap into understanding and acceptance, finds life.

The looking back is done by seeing two acts of a play about himself. The story of his days as a young student at the Sorbonne, spending a week-end at Barbizon, where he has his first sweet encounter with love, is enchantingly told, and agonisingly recalled.

In the second act, his years in prison for a crime of violence, are remembered, and this is not only beautifully done in regard to the imprisonment of his own sorrow and sin, which is inescapable until he is able to accept and interpret it, but also in respect of the actual descriptions of life in prison, and what it does to those for whom it is meant to be a deterrent.

Among his fellow prisoners there is a boy whose "crime" was that he had been deceived as to the age of a girl whom he had "got with child," and it is clearly shown how prison corrupted him, making it possible for him to learn how to satisfy his sexual desires without girls, and to regard the property of others as a legitimate way of living. In fact it made "a criminal where once was only a stupid lout who liked girls."

There is not space to quote at length, but I defy anyone who starts, to stop reading until the end, and having read to remain unmoved, and unshaken.

R. H. Ward is already known as a poet, a dramatist, and a broadcaster (His play, *THE PRODIGAL SON*, is to be broadcast on the Home Service on September 26) but it may well be that his claim to fame will be as a novelist. He has all the gifts—imagination, sense of humour, dramatic sense, and ability to write lovely prose.

SYBIL MORRISON.

## MAKE WAR ON DISEASE, NOT MEN

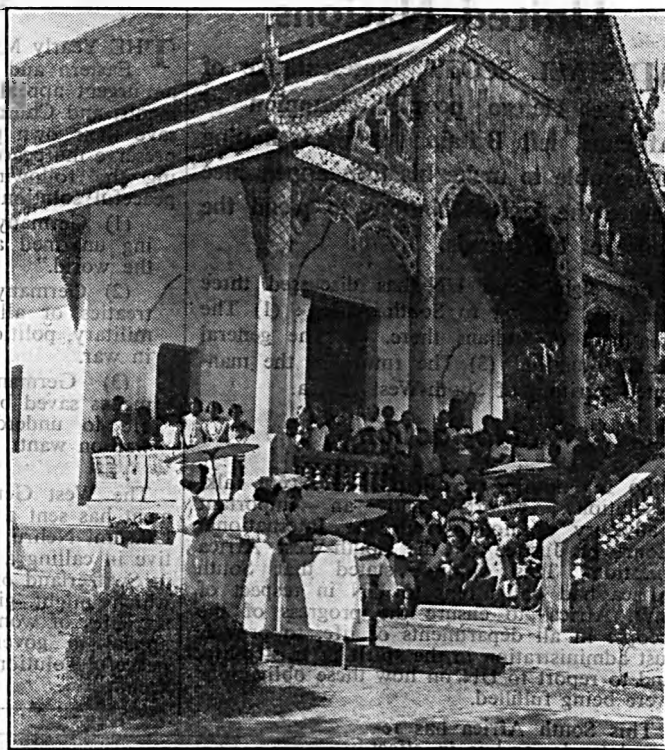
This picture shows an incident in the only kind of war worth fighting today—the war on want and illness.

On the steps of a Buddhist temple in Siam a local nurse teaches mothers proper nutrition and baby-care, using demonstration aids provided by UNICEF (United Nations Children's Emergency Fund).

★

Similar equipment is to be provided for health education campaigns in Asia and Latin America mainly through the 5,700 clinics equipped by UNICEF.

The nurse shown above works out of the central clinic in Chiangmai City, hub of a network of 16 clinics which UNICEF has outfitted in Chiangmai Province.



## Britons are world's greatest cinemagoers

BETWEEN 45 and 55 per cent of the world's population 10 years of age and over is illiterate, according to the latest statistics issued by Unesco. Africa has the largest proportion of illiterates with 75 to 85 per cent., followed by Asia (except the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) with 65 to 75 per cent., South America with 40 to 50 per cent., North America with 10 to 25 per cent., Oceania with 10 to 15 per cent and Europe (except the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) with 5 to 10 per cent. These data are given in "Basic Facts and Figures," revised and enlarged edition of a handbook of statistics just out. The first edition was published in 1952.

## Foreign students

This publication, which indicates the number of pupils enrolled in primary and secondary schools compared with the total child population in each country, shows that in 1952 the United States of America had the largest number of foreign students in higher education—30,462. In relation to the total number of students in higher education, it was Switzerland with 4,065, that had the highest proportion of foreign students.

The highest book production, judged by the number of first edition titles, in 1952, was 13,150 in the United Kingdom, 10,536 in West Germany, 10,410 in France, 9,643 in Japan and 9,399 in the United States of America.

According to the handbook, the total of radio sets in use throughout the world in 1953 was over 230,000,000, or 95 for each 1,000 inhabitants. Of these, the United States of America had about half, some 25,000,000 of which—or approximately 10 per cent. of the world total—were in automobiles.

The United States of America also has the largest number of television receivers. In July 1953, there were 25,100,000 and the number was increasing at the rate of about 40 per cent. a year. The United Kingdom had 2,900,000, with an increase at the rate of about 70 per cent. a year. In September 1953, twenty countries were broadcasting television programmes regularly.

## Hong Kong third

It is also revealed that during 1952, Hong Kong was the third largest producer of long films, with 259. This was exceeded only by the United States of America with 368, and Japan with 261. India produced 233 and Italy 148.

But the United Kingdom had the largest cinema audience per inhabitant in 1953, with an average of 26 visits to the cinema per year per person. The United Kingdom also had the largest daily newspaper circulation per 1,000 inhabitants in 1952: United Kingdom 615, Sweden 490. Japan and the United States of America were equal in tenth place with 353. On the other hand, newsprint consumption per inhabitant in 1951 was greatest in the United States of America: 35.1 kilos. Canada's was 23.3 kilos and Sweden 18.7 kilos.

In this new booklet, the general coverage is much broader than in the first version. All the earlier material has been thoroughly revised, and many new countries have been added. There are in all, 18 statistical tables dealing with illiteracy, education, libraries, museums, books, newspapers, newsprint, films, radio and television. Two useful appendices contain information on the population and area of all countries and exchange rates of national currencies in terms of United States dollar.

## Religious conference in Japan

THE Second International Conference of Religion on the Foundations of Peace is to be held in Japan at Shimizu City, from October 23 to November 3. It is being organised by the religious body known as Ananai-kyo. For those able to attend the conference, expenses during the period of the conference will be borne by the organising body.

## The Road to Hell

THREE MEN who were on the path to Hell perceived that it was indeed paved with their own good intentions.

"This proves," said the first man, "that Hell is not as black as it is painted, and we are to be congratulated on going there."

"On the contrary," replied the second, "it proves what damnable things are Good Intentions; and I, for one, have done with them."

The third said: "You are both very undialectical. Good intentions are not the only paving stones that are used in this path, nor is this the only possible use for them." And, so saying, he began tearing up the paving-stones.

"What are you doing?" cried the first man in alarm. "The stones which the builders rejected," replied the third man, "have become the path to Hell. I am going to put them to a better purpose."

"You are very destructive," complained the first man.

"And Utopian," added the second . . .

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

## George Houser in S. Africa

GEORGE M. HOUSER, Secretary of Americans for South African Resistance and a leading member of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, has recently concluded a tour of Africa from the West Coast down to the Union of South Africa. He managed to enter the Union and has met people active in the movement against unjust laws.

George Houser will be in London for a short time prior to his return to the United States in October.

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## LETTERS

### Future of Formosa

YOU rightly maintain that the fate of disputed territories should be decided by the vote of the inhabitants and not by adjudication between rival claimants.

But I think you will admit that an Eastern nation, throwing off the shackles of the West can hardly be expected to agree to a principle which the West does not itself put into practice. You have yourself mentioned instances of failure on the part of the West, to which might be added the case of Cyprus and the more apposite cases of Alsace and the Trentino.

Furthermore in the case of Formosa adjudication has already been made between rival claimants and it has been assigned to China. The question is, Who is China? Your proposal is a quite reasonable one provided that if Communist China, guided by the many precedents of the West, rejects it this is not to be quoted as an instance of Communist aggression by the Americans, and does not lead to a second call to save civilisation after the Korean pattern.

D. G. WILLIAMS.

153 Finlay Rd., Gloucester.

### Labour initiative

A RECENT public opinion poll reveals a sudden growth in support for Labour, which now holds a six per cent lead.

The reason is not hard to find—the Labour Party Executive's delegation to China and Russia.

The party which takes the initiative towards avoiding a third world war through peaceful co-existence between America and Russia will win—and deserve to win—at the next election the greatest vote of confidence in political history.

FRANK ALLAUN.

7 Mornington Crescent,  
Manchester, 14.

### World food shortage

CONGRATULATIONS on your editorial comment in favour of birth control and a largely vegetable diet as a means of dealing with world food shortage.

May I also draw attention to the new methods of agriculture, both farm and garden, in which no ploughing or digging are required, no chemical fertilisers or insecticides, but all waste vegetable and animal matter are used to make compost powder which is spread over the soil, thus copying nature's methods.

The resulting crops are bigger, have far more resistance to disease and pests, and contain a life quality, as yet underdefined by science, which gives health and vitality to the consumer.

M. H. TALBOT.

6 Purton Road,  
Horsham, Sussex.

### Important people

WHO are the important people in the picture of Eileen McGrann, Richard Gibbs and Roger Bannister on Page 6 of Peace News for September 17?

They must be very famous to receive six inches of the very precious columns of the paper.

ARTHUR GRIDLEY.

Clare,  
Stambridge Rd., Rochford.

### Land ownership

THE world wide campaign to abolish hunger and under nourishment covers the whole panorama of population, disease, cultivation, irrigation and under production, but nowhere does one find an attempt to wrestle with the most fundamental problem of all: the distribution of wealth into wages, the problem which is the cause of all the others.

There are two ways of tackling this problem: one is to raise wages by fixing them by the power of the state in co-operation with trade unions; the other to remove private ownership of land and allow the natural laws of distribution to operate.

We in the West think we are solving our problem of poverty by the former method, and tying ourselves in chains of restriction and vile compulsion. Help those in the East to solve theirs by the latter method—remove the private ownership of land and collect the rent for the community who have increased the productive value of the land by their own efforts.

R. R. BLUNDELL.

6 Park Rd.,  
Hornsey, N.8.

### Third Camp

A THIRD CAMP is already in existence. I refer to the Socialist Movement in this country, comprising several minority parties and groups, the Independent Labour Party, the Socialist Party of Great Britain and a section of the Labour Party membership. This movement has its counterparts abroad and has been opposing war for the last eighty years.

S. EDWARDS.

15 Warren St.,  
Glasgow, S.2.

### Example

MR. ATTLEE suggests that Russia should set an example in disarmament, but we cannot have it both ways.

If the West is advanced it should lead. If the East is beyond the pale, it cannot provide moral leadership. It is up to the Christian nations to practice the teachings of Christ.

FRANCIS J. WHITE.

Mawnan,  
Falmouth.

### America and Europe

AUGUSTUS VINCENT (PN August 13) wants to force USA to leave Europe. This would be unfair after all the help America gave to rebuild Europe.

A much simpler remedy is friendship with Russia, however difficult it may seem. In exchange for a neutral, reunified Germany, armed with an adequate police force, Russia would even correct the Eastern German borderline; but she would be mad to give up her present advantageous position in Central Europe for a united Germany, armed against her by America.

LEON KOOYKER, FRGS.

Berne,  
Switzerland.

### New I.V.S.P. Secretary

MICHAEL SORESENSEN, son of Reginald Sorensen MP, has been appointed General Secretary of the International Voluntary Service for Peace in Great Britain.

## TRENDS

ATTLEE is a firm believer in the dictum that he who stands up to a stampede only gets stomped on; the way to handle a stampede is to ride with it, and perhaps turn it. But in trying to turn the co-existence stampede, Attlee the moderate had ridden closer and closer to the Bevanite position. Last week some began to wonder whether Clem Attlee was trying to turn the stampede or lead it.

To the US, the argument was not merely an academic exercise involving a minority party. A Gallup poll last week in the London News Chronicle shows the Tories have lost sharply in recent months; if an election were held now, the Labour Party would get 48 per cent of the vote, Churchill's Tories only 42 per cent. If and when Labour came to power, the opinions, prejudices and rationalisations of Labour's touring troubadours could have disturbing consequences for everybody.

—TIME, September 20

\* \* \*

“Responsible Americans are committed to a unified Europe and will go on working for that unity in spite of this bitter defeat.”

—ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

\* \* \*

THE BBC have developed last-minute nerves about the televising of the 50-minute film, Musicians to Moscow, which was due to be shown on September 27. They are afraid it might be considered pro-Soviet propaganda.

Kenneth Wright, TV's head of music who supervised the making of the film by the Russians, told me today:

“The situation is still tricky. The Director-General has withdrawn his objections, but it only needs a British airplane to be shot down by mistake, or otherwise, and the whole thing might be called off.”

—EVENING STANDARD TV REPORTER,  
September 15

\* \* \*

The Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Sastroamidjojo, is due in Delhi this week to discuss his proposal for a conference between the Third Camp countries of Asia and Africa. (PN August 27.)

Premier U Nu of Burma is to leave shortly for a visit to China.

Premier Nehru of India will leave on October 16 for a trip covering Burma, Indo-China and China. He will be away till early November.

Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia has accepted an official invitation to visit India. It is also hoped that he may go to Burma.

## A. J. MUSTE from Page Two

To this end they agreed that, no matter what the concrete aims of their programme might be, they would never use violent means to attain them.

“This meant that they would trust the ballot and the persuasive practices that go with it. But they realised that the education of the people in these political arts would need a programme of practical acts as well as verbal means of education.

“They therefore accepted two further methods: constructive projects to demonstrate to themselves achievements in public welfare, voluntary collective work on roads, sanitation, and public education; and deliberate collective acts, such as the occupation and development of land, that might violate current laws and put the agents of these acts in jail . . .

“The three symbols of the Indian Socialist Party, the ballot, the spade, and jail-going, make an interesting entry on the record and a comment on the present democratic quandaries in civil liberties everywhere.”

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## DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

### Friday, October 1

HULL: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Bond St. AGM Reports and election of officers, PPU.

### Saturday, October 2

BRISTOL: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Broadweir. Hugh Brock, PPU National Chairman. Sale of produce by auction. 5 p.m.; tea. Western Area Annual Rally.

SOUTHAMPTON: 3.15 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. Area matters. 6 p.m.; Harold Bing, "The Third Way." Southern Area, PPU.

UXBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Belmont Rd. Brains Trust. CO Fellowship.

### Sunday, October 3

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

### Tuesday, October 5

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### Wednesday, October 6

HASTINGS: 6.30 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards. Symposium: "This week's Peace News." Opener, Philip Millwood, followed by discussion on "How to increase Peace News circulation." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Non-violence Commission. PPU.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FoR, PPU.

### Thursday, October 7

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Cecil Hinshaw. "USA Policy and Peace." SoF, FoR, PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

### Saturday, October 9

EDMONTON: 7.30 p.m.; Independent Cong. Ch. Knights Lane. Joint Social, Cong. Ch. and PPU.

### Saturday-Sunday, October 9-10

BRIDGINGTON: Weekend school, Alexandra Hotel. F. Rona, MSc. "The Economic Consequences of Disarmament." Details: A. Leaper, 22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

HERNE BAY: Weekend conf., Herne Bay Court, John Ferguson, MA, BD, "Christians and World Affairs." FoR.

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### MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

REPORT ON SOUTH AFRICA, by Canon Collins, Chairman, Victor Gollancz, Central Hall, Westminster. Wednesday, October 6, 7.15 p.m. Doors open 6.15. Buffet. Questions invited. Tickets 2s. 6d. reserved, 1s. unreserved, from Christian Action, 2 Amen Ct., E.C.4, or from Central Hall. Many free seats available.

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# PEACE IN THE COLONIES

## Britain's responsibility

By A. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.

WHEN Mr. Eden announced the terms of the cease fire in Indo-China, it was claimed that, thanks to the Conservative Government, there was no war anywhere in the world for the first time since 1934 (when the China-Japan war began).

What about Malaya and Kenya?

Perhaps they are not wars. Perhaps they are just law-and-order operations against bandits and terrorists.

But that is how the Indo-China war was described until three months ago. Ho-Chi Minh was a rebel against the constitutional government.

It is our good fortune rather than our deserts that the rebellions in Malaya and Kenya have not become as formidable as in Indo-China. The methods we adopted to repress them have added to the rebels instead of reducing them. What began as individual acts of terrorism became a revolt.

In Malaya the near-limitation of the revolt to the Chinese and the abstention of the Malaysians and Indians helped us. In Kenya the atrocities and particularly the Lari massacre, which was the turning point, prevented the revolt from spreading to other Kikuyu and to other tribes.

But it is war in both colonies, none-the-less, war with guns and planes, with killed and wounded and prisoners, with suffering to thousands who are innocent, with fear and with hatred. We cannot say the world is even nominally at peace until fighting has ended in Malaya and Kenya (and Morocco, but this is not our direct responsibility).

### Round table conference

The official view is that in both Malaya and Kenya the victory of the government forces is assured and that it is not distant. Maybe, though optimistic reports have repeatedly proved wrong.

But when the fighting is over, Malaysians and Indians will have to live with Chinese in Malaya, and Europeans and Asians will have to live with Africans, including the Kikuyu in Kenya. It is of the first importance not only that the fighting should end but that it should end in a way which will encourage racial co-operation.

Dr. Caruthers has recently written a psychological survey for the Government of Kenya. He speaks of the danger of Mau Mau adherents dispersing to other territories. Certainly there is explosive material in Uganda, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias which they could set alight. Similarly in South East Asia discontent is close to Malaya. If the fighting ends in either country merely by physical inequality and exhaustion, the escaping rebels will not find it difficult to reach congenial territory.

More than that, within Malaya and Kenya themselves, should the conflict end only by incapacity of the insurgents to continue, bitterness and hatred will persist. There will not be the psychology for co-operation to begin.

Both in Malaya and Kenya the Government has offered "surrender terms." The recent negotiations with Mau Mau leaders through "General China" showed that large numbers of the insurgents were prepared to lay down



FENNER BROCKWAY

their arms. They gathered together for this purpose, but by some tragically stupid coincidence (responsibility for which has not yet been clarified) nearby fighting led them to believe that they had been trapped and they scattered.

The "General China" terms included a pledge that no one would be put to death. The terms for Malaya do not include this provision. Recently a bandit who surrendered was sentenced to death, though later he was reprieved. During the Commons debate before the recess, Mr. S. Awbery read a letter from Malaya which ascribed the reduced number of surrenders to this trial and sentence.

There is clearly the opportunity in both Kenya and Malaya to end the fighting. We must insist that it be taken. The precedent of the "General China" negotiations should be renewed.

In both colonies intermediaries who have the confidence of the people should be appointed to contact not only rebel leaders who are still fighting, but some of the leaders who are now in detention. I cannot write with first hand knowledge of Malaya, but certainly in Kenya there are Africans in detention who would be ready to co-operate.

By these means it should be possible to find a basis on which the majority of rebels would lay down their arms and most of those in detention could be liberated within a reasonable period.

The terms to end the fighting would have to include political pledges. In Malaya a promise to establish full self-government at the end of the first parliament under the new Constitution would probably win the necessary confidence; the people would then have the opportunity to solve their social and economic problems themselves. In Kenya something must be done at once to symbolise racial co-operation in these tasks. I believe a proposal made by three Labour MPs in The Times recently indicates the way.

### The official view

They suggested that a round table conference of Europeans, Asians and Africans on a basis of parity, supplemented by Arabs, should meet as soon as the physical conflict ends. It should have the duty of preparing a political, social and economic programme with a time-table for its implementation. This would have to include land redistribution, village communities, the ending of serf labour, living wage rates, social services, rehousing, education for the children of all races, and the direct election of Africans to the Legislative Council.

These are practical proposals to bring peace to Malaya and Kenya. Cannot the whole Labour Movement of Britain join in a campaign to urge them? Mr. Arthur Bottomley came near to proposing an amnesty for Kenya when he opened the recent debate from the Front Bench for the Labour Party. Why cannot we all take it up?

M. Mendes-France has been acclaimed by the world for his settlement in Tunis. Need we lag behind?

### PEOPLE & PLACES

**DARLINGTON:** Speaking last Friday at the weekly open forum run by Methodist Minister Rev. Arnold Bellwood on the Market Steps was Peace Pledge Union field-worker Ethel Lewis.

**EASTBOURNE:** Fellowship of Reconciliation and Peace Pledge Union members were meeting this week to discuss a local CD exercise which promised "All the fun of the war."

**HULL:** A coach has been hired to take a party to Scarborough for Dr. Soper's Labour Peace Fellowship meeting on Monday.

**KIDDERMINSTER:** Jack Williams, prospective Labour Candidate sparked a vigorous press correspondence on peace and war. "I reject war as an instrument for the settlement of human ills," he declared.

**SHEFFIELD:** Peace Pledge Union members hope to raise enough money for a Peace news advertisement on the side of a bus or tram.

**LEEDS:** Thousands of shoppers saw the posters carried by Leeds Joint Action for Peace members in a march on Saturday. Members of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation have joined with Quakers and members of the Leeds Peace Committee in setting up the new action group. Secretary is H. H. Mohun, 80 Shaftesbury Avenue Leeds, 8.

**LONDON:** Canon Collins is to address a Christian Action meeting on his visit to South Africa on Wednesday, October 6, in Central Hall, Westminster at 7.15 p.m. Mr. Victor Gollancz will be in the chair.

HUGH BROCK reviews EMRYS HUGHES' new pamphlet

## BOMBOVER BRITAIN

ARE our Navy, Army and Air Force obsolete? Has the H-bomb made nonsense of the ideas of military and imperial strategy?

"Yes," says Emrys Hughes, MP, in a valuable new 32-page pamphlet, "Bomb over Britain" (1s. from Housmans Bookshop, London, and Civic Press, Glasgow).

In support of his argument Emrys Hughes quotes famous politicians and militarists with telling effect:

*If (the bomb) . . . makes the whole Suez Canal Zone of no further military use and the effort of maintaining the base worth while, then what is the outlook for Portsmouth, Chatham and London?*—JULIAN AMERY, MP (Con. Preston, North).

*We must not forget that by creating the American atom bomb base in East Anglia we have made ourselves the target, and perhaps, the bull's eye of a Soviet attack.*—SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL.

### Brunt of attack

Then there is Field Marshall Lord Montgomery, who, during a visit to Denmark in January 1954 told the Danish Service Ministers that in the event of war with the Soviet Union Britain would have to bear the brunt of the atomic attack, but the war would be continued from Canada and from other British Dominions overseas.

If Emrys Hughes is right, the Service chiefs are defrauding the British public in a way that makes the activities of Clarence Hatry and Horatio Bottomley appear as the misdeemeanours of welshing bookmakers on Derby Day.

This is what the "Defence" chiefs have got away with in the past four years:

1949-50 £736,000,000	1951-52 £1,118,000,000
1950-51 £794,000,000	1952-53 £1,410,000,000

The Admiralty asked for £353,000,000 this year in order to have a Navy capable of dealing with the menace to merchant shipping presented by Russian submarines, quite overlooking the fact that Russia would not need to send submarines out into the Atlantic to destroy our merchant shipping when "a dozen atom bombs or H-bombs on our estuaries or big ports could destroy the harbours and make the water radio active."

In later chapters Emrys Hughes draws on the words of the War Minister, Mr. Head; the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir John Harding; and the former Labour Parliamentary Secretary to the War Office, Woodrow Wyatt to show how ineffectively the Army's top brass are struggling with the nightmare of the H-bomb.

### H. W. FRANKLIN REPORTS

FROM PAGE ONE

They were: Akira Kazani, MP; Kaori Yasui, Professor of International Law at Hosen University; John Tomohiko, Japan's Fellowship of Reconciliation; Samio Taka-kuwa, Professor of Philosophy Aichi University; Akira Nakamura, Dean of Hosei University; Dr. Tomiko Kora, Senator; Yoshiki Hoshino, Left Socialist Party and Paul M. Seki of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

All were determined to work for the abolition of war, and accepted into the Fellowship of Reconciliation people of all sorts of opinions and religion.

Japan is ripe for the acceptance of complete pacifism, for both the Right and the Left wings of the Socialist movement advocate in one way or another the acceptance of the strict clauses of the San Francisco Peace Treaty (which kept Japan disarmed). American influence, however, is making what was intended as a police force into a miniature army; this is a violation of the Treaty.

It is impossible not to feel in the company of such people as these Japanese pacifists that, having seen war with all its horrors, they do not want Japan ever again to be involved in it. The fact that in nearly every large town they have branches of the FoR, and many Unions support their policy, seems to indicate that once the moral force of the USA were removed Japan could be the first country to accept unilateral disarmament as a national policy.

They fear that any army or armed forces will inevitably bring them into contact with one or other of the two opposing blocs, and their propaganda in press and pamphlets calls continual attention to what war has meant to the people of Japan.

### Their real strength

They do not appear to know their real strength for there is no organisation as we know it where numbers and branches are kept in records at headquarters, but despite this these honest men and women are fighting to educate their fellows to realise what peace can mean to the world through complete disarmament.

Of course I was asked "Should they accept Communists (of which there are many in Japan) into membership?" My reply was that this was a matter for them to decide, but I did point out that I had never known my Communist friends ever openly advocate the abolition of the Russian or Chinese armed forces, while a sincere pacifist must advocate the principle for all nations.

They read Peace News whenever they can secure it, and I was really annoyed when I found that the copies I had brought from England, and safely guarded for four weeks, should have been lost in a motor car on my journey from the Railwaymen's headquarters to the Imperial Hotel where I was to meet my pacifist friends.

These good people accept the fact that their government wronged the Chinese and other nations by invasion, and that the Japanese people must bear some part of the responsibility, but believing that reconciliation is the only hope for the future they now proudly proclaim their pacifism hoping it will be a beacon light to the peoples of Asia.

Their main concern, Emrys Hughes shows, is to defend the Army, not the nation. "It will be very dangerous," says Mr. Head, "for the Army to collect close together."

Mr. Head does not expand on the fate of the munition workers and other members of the industrial population who must "collect together" to keep the Army going; judging by Field Marshal Montgomery's speech in Denmark they are "expendable."

Frank Beswick, former RAF pilot, now Labour MP for Uxbridge, rounds off the argument for Emrys Hughes:

*"The armament programme upon which we embarked four years ago has not brought us one whit more security, and not a single man or woman in this country feels more secure as a result of the heavy weight of armaments we now have to bear."*

It is not only our bases and armed forces which have been made obsolete by the H-bomb, Emrys Hughes points out, but our foreign policies too. He continues:

### Common effort

"We have to learn to co-exist, to think out policies which will relax tension . . . learn to work and plan together in developing the resources of the whole world in common effort to raise the standard of life in all countries."

Emrys Hughes' last words are:

"The fate of mankind depends on whether or not we can avoid a Third World War."

"It is the supreme duty of every man and woman to work to prevent it."

In "Bomb over Britain" is material invaluable for all engaged on that task.

### Germany

From page ONE

cultural heritage of Europe, it is strongly possible that the conflict between democracy and the Communist way of life could be resolved.

There would be no "appeasement" involved because no state would be in a position to intimidate, all being largely demilitarised. The great saving on armaments expenditure would result in resources being made available for economic and cultural projects designed to promote well-being and understanding throughout the world.

FROM PAGE ONE

They are concerned at what they regard as the harsh treatment of their own nationals imprisoned for alleged or real war crimes.

Believing in the future of mankind they ask for reconsideration of the sentences and hope the new outlook in Japan will ensure that those who are released will realise with them that never again shall Japan be involved in a war against other people and nations.

The three hours went all too quickly. Of all the good people I met on the journey through Russia, China, Japan, Burma, India and Lebanon, those pacifist comrades in the land of the rising sun made me feel that one day we may all have cause to thank those who openly say war must be abolished and their country must show the way by refusing to arm.

If America would release her hold on Japan that day might come sooner than we expect. If it does come it will bring sanity to a stricken world where it is believed (or professed to be believed) that only arms can ensure peace. The Japanese people in large numbers refuse to accept this view and I feel honoured to have spent a few moments with such courageous and grand colleagues.

Sybil Morrison returns next week

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